

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 608

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: AS MAO LAY DYING...ANOTHER PEOPLE'S DAILY ALLEGORY

REF: PEKING 576

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. FURTHER DEVELOPING THE ANALOGY BETWEEN SOVIET TROTSKYITES AND THE CHINESE "GANG OF FOUR," A MARCH 30 PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE NOTES THAT THE DECLINING LENIN--A TRANSPARENT MAO SURROGATE--WAS FOR A TIME PHYSICALLY INCAPABLE OF "OVERSEEING AFFAIRS" BUT STILL HAD LUCID MOMENTS DURING WHICH HE DICATED FINAL INSTRUCTIONS AND LETTERS. THE ARTICLE THUS INTIMATES--ALLEGORICALLY--THAT MAO'S FINAL ILLNESS PRECLUDED HIS DIRECT INVOLEEMENT IN THE PURGE OF TENG BUT THAT HE WAS CAPABLE, DURING "SLIGHT TURNS FOR THE BETTER," OF ANNOINTING HAU KUO-FENG AS HIS SUCCESSOR. THE ARTICLE ALSO CONTAINS A CRYPTIC REFERENCE TO THE TROTSKYITES' WINNING OVER "A PITIFUL THREE SUPPORTERS" AT A
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CRUCIAL LEADERSHIP MEETING--A POSSIBLE HINT THAT THE "GANG OF FOUR" HAD SIMILARLY GAINED BACKING FROM A VERY FEW OTHER POLITBURO MEMBERS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE MARCH 30 PEOPLE'S DAILY PRINTS ON PAGE TWO A LONG ARTICLE ("COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

OF THE TROTSKYITES DURING THE PERIOD OF LENIN'S CRITICAL ILLNESS") BY LIN CHI-CHOU WHICH FURTHER DEVELOPES THE ANALOGY BETWEEN SOVIET TROTSKYITES AND THE "GANG OF FOUR" (REFTEL). AGAIN, THE ANALOGY IS MADE EXPLICIT: "IT IS NOT DIFFICULT FOR US TO PERCEIVE THAT THE ACTIVITIES TO SEIZE PARTY AND STATE POWER WAGED IN OUR COUNTRY BY THE 'GANG OF FOUR' DURING 1976 WERE IN MANY RESPECTS A REPLAYING OF THE OLD TRICKS OF THE TROTSKY BANDIT GANG. IN ESSENCE THE 'GANG OF FOUR' AND THE TROTSKY BANDIT GANG HAVE NOTHING AT ALL DISSIMILAR..."

3. THE ARTICLE REHASHES TROTSKY'S STRUGGLE WITH STALIN IN TERMS EXTREMELY FAMILIAR TO THE CHINESE READER IMMERSSED IN ANTI-GANG-OF-FOUR CAMPAIGN MATERIALS. TROTSKY (CHIANG CHING) UTILIZED LENIN'S (MAO'S) FINAL DECLINE TO WAGE UNPRINCIPLED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OLD BOLSHEVIKS (THE LONG MARCH GENERATION) AND LENIN'S SUCCESSOR STALIN (HUA KUO-FENG). TROTSKY'S PRESS OVERLORD RADEK (YAO WEN-YUAN) MANIPULATED PRAVDA (PEOPLE'S DAILY) SO AS TO FAVOR TROTSKY'S CLAIM TO SUCCEED LENIN; TROTSKY TOOK ADVANTAGE OF INTERNAL ECONOMIC CRISIS AND TREATENING EXTERNAL FOES TO MAKE HIS BID FOR POWER; TROTSKY UTILIZED YOUTH AND "ESPECIALLY COLLEGE STUDENTS"; TROTSKY PUT HIS MAN (CHANG CHUN-CHIAO) IN CHARGE OF THE RED ARMY GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT; AND TROTSKY PLOTTED TO CONSTITUTE A SECOND PARTY CENTER IN MOSCOW (HERE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ANALOGY IS TO SHANGHAI PROBABLY).

4. THESE PRECISE ALBEIT ARTIFICIAL PARALLELS LEND SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE DECLINING LENIN. TROTSKY WAS ABLE TO CARRY OUT HIS MACHINATIONS BECAUSE "LENIN'S ILLNESS WORSENERD AND HE WAS UNABLE TO OVERSEE AFFAIRS." HOWEVER, "UNDER CONDITIONS OF A SLIGHT TURN FOR THE BETTER IN HIS MEDICAL CONDITION, LENIN ORALLY GAVE HIS LAST FEW ARTICLES AND A FEW LETTERS." TO THE SEASONED CHINESE READER THE ALLEGORY IS OBVIOUS: MAO'S FINAL ILLNESS PRECLUDED HIS DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE PURGE OF TENG BUT HE WAS CAPABLE, DURING "SLIGHT TURNS FOR THE BETTER," OF PROCLAIMING TO HUA KUO-FENG "WITH YOU IN CHARGE I'M AT EASE." HENCE THERE IS A FORMULA, AND A RATIONALE, FOR BRINGING BACK TENG WITHOUT UNDULY DMAGING THE STATUS OF HUA AND THE PRESTIGE OF MAO. OR SO TENG HSIAO-PING'S SUPPORTERS WOULD ARGUE.

5. 5. TOWARD THE END OF THE ARTICLE THERE IS A CRYPTIC
REFERENCE TO THE TROTSKYITES' WINNING OVER OF "A
PITIFUL THREE SUPPORTERS" AT A CRUCIAL LEADERSHIP
MEETING. WHILE THIS THEME IS NOT DEVELOPED, THE
INTENT MAY BE TO SUGGEST THAT AT SOME POINT IN THE
MONTHS BEFORE THEIR FALL THE "GANG OF FOUR" ALSO
MANAGED TO GAIN BACKING FROM A VERY FEW OTHER
POLITBURO MEMBERS.
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